THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume One FEBRUARY, 1911 Number Four

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

CONTENTS

Along the Color Line 5
Opinion 11
Pink Franklin's Reprieve 15
Editorial 16
Cartoon 18
By JOHN HENRY ADAMS
Editorial 20
Charles Sumner . . 22
A Poem by
Justice W. P. STAFFORD
The Negro as a Soldier 23
By Brig.-Gen. A. S. BURT
Joao Candido . . 25
A Black Statesman of the Last Century 26
By Dr. FRANCES HOGGAN
N.A.A.C.P. Meetings 27
Talks About Women 28
By Mrs. J. E. MILHOLLAND
The Burden . . . 29
What to Read . . 30
A Library . . . 31

HON. HARRY W. BASS
First Colored Member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. Elected in November, 1910.

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
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ONE DOLLAR A YEAR TEN CENTS A COPY

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization—associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

FUNDS.—We need $10,000 a year for running expenses of this work and particularly urge the necessity of gifts to help on our objects.

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Bureau of the Census,
Washington, D. C.

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THE CRISIS was established in September, 1910, and has issued four copies. Its circulation has been as follows:

November	1,000 copies
December	2,500 "
January	3,000 "
February	4,000 "

The demand for the magazine has steadily kept ahead of the supply, so that sample copies have not been available and agents often could not be supplied.

The magazine circulates now in every State in the Union and in five foreign countries. In the near future it is planned to enlarge the size of the page of the magazine and to increase the number of pages so as to include more articles and some fiction.

It is especially desired to increase the number and quality of the illustrations so as to make the magazine a pictorial history of the Color Line.

In order to realize our plans we need 10,000 subscribers—6,000 more than we have. Every reader of THE CRISIS can by personal solicitation help us to this goal. Probably no magazine in America has a more interesting set of readers—we have on our books judges, financiers, philanthropists, college presidents and scholars, besides the best educated colored people of the country.

This magazine has as yet paid no salaries to its workers. Outside of this its income has more than paid its expenses each month. Our books are open to those interested. What we need now is capital. Anyone interested in investing money in this enterprise, either as a pure matter of business or as a philanthropy, can get hold of some interesting facts by addressing the manager at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

Do not hesitate to criticize us. We want ideas. We want short, live articles, with facts done into English. We are not anxious for opinion and we write poetry ourselves.

If you do not get your copy, write us. If you do, and like it, write us. If you do not like it, do not fail to write us.

Have you got any interesting pictures "along the Color Line?" Send them to us.

In fact, help us to help you and yours.

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Along the Color Line

CHARLES SUMNER AND OTHERS.

Charles Sumner was born January 6, 1811. The centenary of his birthday was fittingly commemorated in New York, Boston and Washington.

In New York the anniversary was celebrated with memorial exercises under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the meeting house of the Society for Ethical Culture, Central Park West and Sixty-fourth Street. Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, the only daughter of William Lloyd Garrison; Moorfield Storey, the Boston lawyer, who is president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on "Charles Sumner;" Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, on "Charles Sumner and Peace," and the Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue, on "A Senator with a Conscience."

A telegram was read from Jacob S. Schiff, lauding Sumner as standing for the highest moral issues of his time. This was followed by the reading of a poem on Sumner composed by W. P. Stafford.

Mr. Moorfield Storey said, among other things:

"The man who appeals to race prejudice, whether to keep his fellow-citizens down or to excite suspicion and enmity against a foreign nation, is a public enemy, and should be branded as such. His acts are far more dangerous to the State than those of the recognized criminal. If we would honor Sumner we must take up the battle to which he gave his life. We must wage unrelenting war against the absurd prejudices of race and color, whether they bar the Negro from his rights as a man; the foreigner from his welcome to our shores; the Filipino from his birthright of independence, the Hebrew from social recognition, or breed the unjust and wicked suspicion which would embroil us in war with any other people, whether of Europe or Asia. Such meetings as this are of no avail if they do not inspire us with a determination to obey the precepts and follow the example of the man whom we would commemorate."

In Boston two meetings were held: the main meeting in Faneuil Hall and a branch meeting at Park Street Church. Ex-Governor Guild, Governor Foss, Rev. R. C. Ransom and others spoke.

In Washington, D. C., several hundred prominent colored people attended the exercises under the auspices of the American Negro Academy in the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church. A number of white persons were in the audience, and addresses were made by Justice Wendell Phillips Stafford and ex-Senator William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire.

Memorial exercises to Julia Ward Howe were held in Symphony Hall, under the auspices of the city of Boston, and were largely attended, every available seat being taken, and hundreds being turned away.

Mrs. Howe's public services were the subject of addresses from four different standpoints. William H. Lewis, assistant U. S. Attorney, spoke of her devotion to the cause of the colored race.

Emancipation Day was widely celebrated throughout the South on its forty-eighth anniversary, January 1.

Colored people of the District of Columbia are making preparation for a jubilee and celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the United States. The celebration is to be held in 1913.

On February 3 occurs the centenary of Horace Greeley's birth.

POLITICAL.

The Negro problem has appeared in Congress in the question of expelling Senator Lorimer, and that of adopting a resolution favoring the popular election of Senators. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported the latter resolution with a proviso that the United States Government should not control elections. Many Senators oppose this, and Senator Carter of Montana said:

"The adoption of the amendment would give substantial, though limited, national sanction to the disfranchisement of Negroes in the Southern States.

"In their disfranchisement," went on Mr. Carter, "we now passively acquiesce, but with this supine attitude some Senators are not content; they ask us actually to strip Congress of the power to question election methods and actions in so far as the election of United States Senators may be concerned, and by the way of inducement to the Congress and the nation to consent to the permanent suppression of more than 1,000,000 votes at elections to choose Senators they will co-operate in the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people."

The Hon. Harry W. Bass was sworn in as the first colored member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. He was welcomed by the Speaker, United States Senator Penrose and others. His desk was covered with flowers.

President Taft has appointed Charles A. Cottrell, colored, to be Collector of the Port at Honolulu, but is embarrassed in his intention to appoint W. H. Lewis Assistant Attorney-General. Wickersham appears to be opposed to this step.

HON. CHARLES A. COTTRELL
Collector of the Port of Honolulu

In Houston and San Antonio, Tex., the Negro vote is wanted for ship canal bonds and a new commission government. A Negro paper, however, points out that Houston has a park paid for by public taxes which Negroes may not enter. The Danville (Va.) Register says as to the prohibition issue:

"It is true that in a Democratic primary no Negro can vote. But it is also true that if the officers of registration and election will do their duty honestly, few Negroes will be able to register, and the majority of these will, we believe, favor prohibition."

Governor Blease of South Carolina said in his inaugural address:

"I am in favor of building up the free-school system so that every white child in South Carolina may be given a good common school education.

"I am absolutely opposed to compulsory education, and have little patience with, and much contempt for, that man or those men who go around in the State or outside of the State and parade figures to show the percentage of the ignorance of our people. The white people of the South are the best friends to the Negro race. In my opinion, when the people of this country began to try to educate the Negro they made a serious and grave mistake, and I fear the worst result is yet to come. So why continue? I took this same position in my first political race twenty years ago, and each year has proved more clearly that I was right then, and the future will emphasize that I am right now. I believe that you members of the Legislature can pass an act which will meet all the requirements of both the Federal and State constitutions, which will remedy this."

THE COURTS.

The record of the Negro in the courts this month is unusually encouraging.

The Alabama "Peonage" law has been held unconstitutional. The question of the constitutionality of the law was raised in the case of Alonzo Bailey, a Negro laborer of the Riverside Company. The law made it a misdemeanor for any person to enter into a contract to labor, receive advance pay and then fail to do the work without refunding the money advanced. The breach of the contract was made proof, on the face of things, of intent to defraud, and under a rule of Alabama law the laborer was not permitted to rebut this proof by testifying as to his unexpressed intention at the time of making the contract.

Justice Hughes read the decision and said that a State could not reduce a person to involuntary service by the indirect method of making his failure to pay a debt a crime.

Southern railroads have not complied with the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission as to equal accommodations for Negro travelers. The railroads demurred in a Tennessee court, but Judge Sanford overruled them, and the Commission will probably either enforce its demands or abolish the "Jim Crow" system.

Governor Wilson of Kentucky has pardoned eleven Negroes who are in the Kentucky Penitentiary for defending themselves in a race riot. Governor Wilson said: "It is a sorrow to every man who honors and loves Kentucky that such a story as this could be true in any county in Kentucky."

That railroads cannot be required to provide separate compartments in sleeping cars for white and Negro passengers was the decision of the Court of Appeals recently in the case of the Commonwealth of Kentucky against the Illinois Central Railroad.

The court held that inasmuch as the sleeping cars are not owned and controlled

by the railroads that the railroads cannot be compelled to interfere with their operation.

When a Negro makes a contract to buy a house in a first-class residence district without concealing his color, the seller cannot declare the contract invalid merely because the purchaser is a Negro.

Thus the State Supreme Court ruled recently in the case of David Cole, a Negro, against a real estate company of Seattle, which contended that selling a lot to Cole would depreciate the value of its other property in the neighborhood.

ECONOMIC.

Negro settlements with considerable landholdings are being projected in California and Nevada by local colored capitalists.

The two colored banks of Nashville, Tenn., are in good condition, but the Nickel Savings Bank of Richmond, Va., has failed. It had a capital of $10,000. An application for a bank charter has been filed in Wicomico county, Md.

A building and loan association has been started in Scranton, Pa.

Mississippi planters in the Black Belt are warning labor agents not to entice their colored laborers away to Arkansas.

The Pullman Company pays its colored porters $15 and $20 a month, occasionally $25. For the larger part of their income these porters depend on tips.

The increased cost of living and the disposition of the public to stop tipping have led the porters to petition for higher wages.

Four million dollars is the amount of money that the Negroes of Philadelphia have on deposit in the various savings institutions in that city, according to addresses made the other evening by leading Negro business and professional men at a banquet given by the board of directors of the People's Savings Bank of Philadelphia, which is the only Negro bank north of the Mason and Dixon line.

Julius Rosenwald, a prominent Chicago Jew, has offered to give $25,000 to every city that shall raise $75,000 for a colored Young Men's Christian Association building. M. W. Harris, a banker, has contributed $25,000 to the colored building for Chicago. President Taft has written a commendatory letter. After a ten days' campaign the colored people raised $66,000 in Chicago, so that the building there is assured. It will be between 24th and 39th Streets and will contain a gymnasium, swimming pool, shower baths, bowling alleys, billiard room, restaurant, dormitories, reading room and library, night school, lecture rooms and clubrooms for boys.

The International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. has been promised a salary for two field secretaries in addition to the three men now on the force to assist in the extension of the Colored Y. M. C. A. movement.

The Episcopal community of colored Sisters has been moved from Baltimore to Kansas City.

The Right Rev. Silveria Gomez Pimentar, who died a few years ago in South America, was the first Catholic Negro bishop in the New World. His parents were slaves, but he became auxiliary bishop of Balua at an early age, and in 1902 was made Bishop of Marianna by Pope Leo XIII. There were 2,000,000 people in his diocese. He succeeded in restoring and elevating the religious and social life of his district, and was a man of vast learning, with high reputation as an Orientalist.

Pope Pius X. is manifesting great interest in mission work among colored people in the United States. Rev. J. E. Burk, the director-general of this work, is undertaking to raise $50,000 a year for it.

The colored Methodists of Baltimore have finally taken possession of the former home of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church. Fifty thousand colored people live within a radius of eight blocks of this church, and there are twelve colored churches in the neighborhood. This is the largest church owned by Negroes in the United States. The congregation was founded by Daniel Coker.

EDUCATION.

In Shreveport, La., the principal of the colored school says in an appeal for funds: "There are, in round numbers, 3,000 educable colored school children in Shreveport. About 1,000 are in school, 350 have applied for admission, but because of a lack of room and teachers they have been turned away with tearful eyes. Others knowing that there is no room have not applied. Two thousand children cannot get into our schools."

In Florence, S. C., the 105 white teachers receive $36,804 a year in salaries for teaching 59 schools; while the 56 Negro teachers get $7,359 for teaching 49 schools.

Founders' Day at Hampton Institute was largely devoted to a discussion of Negro industrial education by Northern and Southern white men.

The State Board of Education has voted to place the new colored normal school at Nashville, Tenn., provided $80,000 is raised.

Fire has destroyed the girl's dormitory of the colored school at Conroe, Tex., and nearly the whole plant of the Methodist

school at Homer, La. The latter was the largest colored school in the section.

Howard University has dedicated a new $90,000 science hall.

The State of North Carolina has agreed to give the Slater Industrial School for Negroes in the little town of Winston-Salem in that State, the sum of $12,000, if the colored people will raise a similar amount.

Eleven thousand dollars for Negro education, to be applied to the work of the Mississippi Industrial College at Holly Springs, Miss., is the record-breaking achievement of the Negroes of Mississippi Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The new colored industrial school in Charleston, S. C., will open next month.

At Richmond, Ind., Lorella Burden, a colored girl, about twelve years of age, has been declared the champion speller in the township. It seemed impossible to give the girl a word which she could not spell, and she is expected to win the county match in January and to be a representative of the district match in February.

At Hammond, La., the colored citizens held a mass meeting and an organization was perfected for the purpose of carrying on educational work. During the past year they have been enabled to continue their public school through a period of eight months.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

An enterprising student has discovered the names of thirty-three colored men in the 1911 edition of "Who's Who in America."

Kansas City, Mo., has organized a society for the betterment of Negroes in that city. The Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady is the leading spirit.

The condition of relief work for Negroes in the District of Columbia is much criticised. There seems to be no refuge for feeble-minded children and the insane wards are greatly overcrowded.

The colored people of Birmingham, Ala., are trying to get better hospital accommodations.

North Carolina colored folk are pushing the movement for a State reformatory for youth.

The Adjutant-General of the army says in his last report:

"It will be seen that the desertion rate of our colored troops compares favorably with the very low rate of the British army, and that both of these rates are very much lower than the desertion rate of our white troops. Inasmuch as our colored soldiers are treated in every way precisely the same as our white soldiers, it is evident that this treatment is not the cause of desertion."

The American Negro Monographs Company has republished "Nat Turner's Confession."

Prof. Donald B. MacMillan, one of the leading scientists of the Peary expedition, pays high and unstinted tribute to Matt. Henson. He declares that Henson is almost as familiar with Arctic conditions as Commander Peary himself, and was perhaps the most valuable member of the expedition after the commander.

Colored people are planning an industrial home for colored women in Newark, N. J.

The Negro porters on the Pacific Overland train, one of whom was killed and the other wounded, showed courage and an effort to do their duty to the passengers of their cars by keeping the robbers out. Other trainmen and passengers showed no resistance, which was perhaps wise from the point of personal safety, but helps to encourage similar raids on trains.

The first of a series of conferences was held by the Charity Organization Society in New York.

Among the speakers was Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, who said:

"If anyone should ask me what special phase of the colored American's development makes me most hopeful of his ultimate triumph over present obstacles, I should answer unhesitatingly it is the magnificent work the women are doing to regenerate and elevate the race."

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Elias Haynes, a colored minister, physician and author, died lately. He was born in slavery in Charleston, S. C., and served all through the Civil War as commissary sergeant in a regiment of volunteers on the Union side. After the close of the war he was graduated from Atlanta University. He then studied at Wilberforce, and at Harvard. He was the author of "The Negro in Sacred History," "The Black Man in Natural History," and other works. He recently organized a soap company in Brooklyn, so as to raise money to publish his life work entitled, "The Blood." He is survived by a widow and three sons. Dr. Haynes was a member of the general committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dover, Del., has its first colored mail carrier.

J. H. Murphy, editor of the Afro-American, and one of the most progressive Negroes of Baltimore, is 70 years of age. He has had an interesting career, serving in the Union Army during the Civil War and later as a post-office clerk. He became engaged in the printing business in 1890 and has gradually widened his scope. His paper is one of the best-known publications of its kind in the country.

News received from Georgetown, Miss., says that the northbound passenger train on the New Orleans Great Northern Railroad there narrowly escaped being wrecked at the Copiah Creek trestle, about one mile south of there.

Charlie Bush, a Negro, who lives near the bridge, discovered the danger just before the train was due, built a bonfire in the center of the track and flagged the train.

In St. Joseph, Mo., a colored club with library, reading rooms and gymnasium is projected.

Nashville Negroes are paying the last $1,000 on a $15,000 hospital.

George W. Murray, of Columbia, S. C., a former Negro member of the lower house at Washington, was the principal speaker during the annual convention of the Interstate Literary Association at Des Moines, Iowa.

The association is made up of Negroes of the Middle West and each year the association awards liberal prizes to the successful contestants in oratory, original poetic and musical compositions.

Upholding the complaint of the most substantial colored citizens and property-owners in the city, Judge S. B. Witt, of the Hustings Court, Richmond, Va., refused to allow the transfer of a liquor license to 701 North Second Street. Several white people, among them being representatives of the owner, Mrs. McGeorge and her agent, N. W. Bowe, testified in favor of the bar, and said that in their opinion it was a suitable location. They were no match, however, for the large array of colored citizens, who showed to the satisfaction of the court that such a place, even though properly handled, would increase the disorder in one of the most respectable residential districts in the city.

Advocating the application of Y. M. C. A. methods to the Negroes of Washington, Thomas Nelson Page addressed a meeting.

Mr. Page said that proper development would bring to the surface a high poetic temperament which would raise the level of the entire colored race.

Colored Masons, representing 150 lodges and 4,000 members, held a meeting of the Grand Lodge in Danville, Va.

A Negro tuberculosis conference was held in St. Louis. A clinic for colored consumptives has been opened in Chicago.

The colored people of Scranton, Pa., will raise $40,000 for a clubhouse. Half the amount has been pledged.

A colored baseball league has been formed and has adopted a circuit of eight cities. The new league selected Chicago, Louisville, New Orleans, Mobile, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo.; Kansas City, Kan., and Columbus, O.

The American Historical Association, at its annual meeting recently at Indianapolis, gave the Justin Winsor prize to Edward Raymond Turner, Ph. D., graduate of Johns Hopkins University, and now Associate in History at Bryn Mawr College, for his book entitled "The Negro in Pennsylvania—Slavery, Servitude, Freedom."

VAGARIES OF THE COLOR LINE.

New Orleans is in a pretty pother. A new superintendent of schools from Missouri invited colored teachers to meet with white teachers and listen to a lecture on penmanship.

"The New Orleans Federation of Women's Clubs have called meetings to adopt resolutions attacking what they term a repudiation of Southern ideals and the trampling under foot of tradition.

"One teacher said that she was seated in the second row at the meeting yesterday, and that two Negro teachers sat directly behind her, and several more sat behind these. In fact, she said, the Negro teachers, numbering about thirty, were spread all over one side of the room. The white teachers were highly indignant at being forced to submit to such treatment."

Attention is called to the fact that this policy is almost unprecedented. A local paper says:

"Some years ago the attention of the presidents of the Public School Co-operative Clubs was called to the fact that white teachers and Negro teachers were paid at the same time at the City Hall. As this was not considered necessary, and it was not desired by the white or the Negro teachers, the attention of the school officials at that time was called to it, and the promise was made that it should never be repeated, and it was not. The Negro teachers in the schools come from the best element of their race, and it is probable that not one of them desired to be placed in the position they were put yesterday by the new superintendent."

The school officials apologize and say:

"The white and the Negro teachers are placed on an entirely different footing with the School Board. Their pay is not graded in the same way, and they have been kept as separate from each other as it was possible for them to be."

The Times-Democrat sums up the matter in a serious editorial utterance:

"When, a short time ago, the prize pupils of our public schools went to the Cleveland 'spelling bee,' and it was discovered that the competition was between white and Negro pupils, Mr. Easton was bitterly denounced for his action in taking the New Orleans white children into this contest with Negroes. He accepted the responsibility, explaining that there was no time for thought, made public apology for his mistake, and promised that no mixture of races should ever again occur in any school function, lecture or any ceremony."

* * * *

"Prof. Gwinn's defense seems to be that, being a stranger, knowing little of New Orleans sentiment, he was ignorant of how grossly he had violated our ideals and our practices. 'I paid no special attention to the matter,' he says in his excuses, whereas any Southerner would have paid special attention at once to a gathering of whites and Negroes, and would have seen the mistake that had been made."

Two cases of intermarriage have aroused the South: in Chattanooga Miss Grace Doty ran away to Cincinnati and married an octoroon. In Baltimore a couple were arrested and put in jail for getting married because the groom is suspected of Negro blood. The Maryland law reads:

"It is a felony for a white person and a Negro, or a white person and a person of Negro descent to the third generation, to marry." The penalty is imprisonment for 18 months to 10 years in the penitentiary.

The presence of a little girl with one-thirtieth of Negro blood in a Maryland school has disrupted it and the case is under serious consideration.

Adverse action is recommended by the commissioners on House bill 30568, which provides for "jim crow" cars in the District of Columbia. The bill was introduced by Representative Clark, of Florida, several weeks ago.

The bill was sent to the commissioners by Chairman Smith, of the House District committee, for an opinion. After carefully considering the matter the commissioners, in a letter to Mr. Smith sent to the Capitol yesterday, said:

"The commissioners know of no local demand or sentiment in the District of Columbia for any legislation of this character, and do not believe that any such legislation is desirable. They recommend adverse action on the bill."

The Rev. W. W. Landrum, one of the most prominent white clergymen of the South, says:

"I don't doubt that in the course of time —500 years, 1,000 years—the Negro may be absorbed. I believe in time that the race in America will be a composite one—African, Asiatic, European, all combined. But what may be expected in a future so distant does not affect the problem we have to deal with to-day."

About thirty-five medical students from Georgetown and George Washington Universities went on strike recently against the lectures given by Dr. William White, superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington, D. C., because of the presence at the last lecture of about thirty Negro medical students from Howard University. Dr. White refuses to give a separate course of lectures for whites.

Guy Fitzgerald, a Virginian, enrolled in the college of agriculture of the University of Minnesota, is conducting a losing fight against allowing Negro students to belong to the Agricultural Society, a college organization. Fitzgerald refused to pose in the society's group picture along with the Negroes whom the president would not bar out. Then he introduced a resolution permitting only white students to become members of the society. This was defeated.

ART.

William Stanley Braithwaite attended the dinner of the Poetry Society of New York.

William E. Scott, the colored artist, has several pictures in the exhibition of the Society of Western Artists.

Henry O. Tanner has two paintings in the special exhibit department of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. One is "The Three Marys" and the other "The Return of the Holy Women."

George W. Walker, the well-known comedian, is dead.

CRIME.

Negro farm laborers are being driven out of Turner County, Ga., and all Negroes have been warned to leave the town of Butler, Okla.

Three Negroes were lynched in Shelby county, Ky. One was accused of throwing kisses at white girls.

The colored man who was arrested in New York on the charge of killing servants in the home of Dr. Cannon, 123d Street, has been finally released.

In the Ohio lynching, the only lynching that occurred in the North during 1910, one of the mob leaders has been sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary, and this one man is a black man. If no other of the Ohio lynchers are punished it will appear that Ohio picked the black man for the scapegoat, and that suggests what is probably true, that the North, if it had the blacks to deal with on as large a scale as in the South, would give them the worst of it in the administration of the law.—Sioux City Tribune.

OPINION

PEONAGE.

The decision of the Supreme Court against Alabama peonage has attracted little attention in the press. A brief dispatch from Washington announced the court's view, and few papers gave it prominence. The New York Evening Post thinks there will be general rejoicing, North and South, at the result of the decision. The peonage law, it says, was a long step toward re-enslaving the Negro.

"Unlike the open attempts at enslavement in peonage camps which were so vigorously opposed in the Roosevelt Administration, this was a legal attempt to meet the difficulties caused by the instability of Negro labor. On its face it made it a misdemeanor to take advance pay for labor and to fail to work out the advanced money. Practically by the aid of chain-gang sentences, it meant that if a workingman bound himself to serve, but found the conditions of labor were insupportable, he could be reduced to involuntary servitude by the indirect method of making his failure to pay a debt a crime.

"The Supreme Court's decision will be heartily welcomed by broad-minded Southerners everywhere; for they realize that, vexing as the labor problem is, the solution lies in other directions than involuntary servitude.

"This Alabama decision means, of course, far more than appears on the surface. It will not only check further legislation in that direction, but will probably result in upsetting similar statutes elsewhere. More than that, it will put heart into the colored people whose fears have been aroused by the President's Southern appointments to the Supreme Court. It will be a gratifying proof to them that, after all, there are courts in the land; and they need this assurance now that the attacks upon them have taken the form not only of assaults upon their freedom, but upon their right to hold property. This is the meaning of the Baltimore segregation plan; there is segregation of the Negroes there now as in every large city, but it is voluntary.

"A decision has just come from the State of Washington's Supreme Court which will give comfort to the Baltimore colored people. There it has been held that a real estate company cannot decline to transfer a lot to a colored man if he has contracted to purchase it openly and fairly. These decisions merely uphold the fundamental principles of democracy."

The Chicago Record-Herald takes the same view. It says the decision will be welcomed by humane people everywhere, and will put new heart into the colored people. "This confidence will be strengthened by the action of the President in the case of the lumber and turpentine operator in Florida. It is not only likely that bad labor legislation in the South will be checked, but it becomes less likely that offenders against the plain laws of humanity shall escape unpunished."

PEACE.

The Rev. Samuel H. Bishop, who is Secretary of the American Church Institute, organized by the Episcopal Church, wrote to the New York Evening Post a letter apropos of Mr. Carnegie's gift of $10,000,000 to the cause of peace. Mr. Bishop is glad that the crusade should be furthered, but he feels that the sentiment against war is growing stronger and would soon conquer without Mr. Carnegie's millions, while there seems to him a greater cause that might have been advanced by such a gift.

"Superlatives," he says, "are dangerous, but if there is any superlative of importance which is safe, I am confident it is the superlative of the Negro problem. Consider what it means—that a social group, nearly 12,000,000 strong, with a strong racial differentiation which has thus far prevented that group's thorough assimilation into American life, has 2,500,000 children and youth under twenty, of whom not more than 45 per cent. have any opportunity for training in the art and knowledge of life, and in the responsibilities and duties of citizenship.

"Consider also that in our Northern cities the workers of that group suffer from a wage discrimination of about 20 per cent.; from a rent discrimination of about 20 per cent.; consider such a suggestion as that recently made by the Governor of South Carolina, which every student of the Negro problem knows is the expression of a tendency which has been with great difficulty prevented from being expressed in law; consider the action of the Baltimore Board of Aldermen. I am not intimating at all that there is any probability of an insurrection—that is not my point—but the point is clear that no propaganda for peace can afford to ignore a situation which is *per se* productive of the war spirit.

"The Episcopal Church has undertaken to establish a great Negro university called the American Church Institute for Negroes. It has in five States of the Union six schools, with two more applying for relationship to it; 1,600 students, 80 instructors and teachers, more than twenty departments of industrial and professional education.

Will not some wise Episcopalian, or any wise citizen, see here an opportunity for going deeper even than Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Rockefeller has yet done?"

NEGRO MUSIC.

An ancient controversy that involves the Negro as a musician has been renewed in the New York Sun, the Boston Transcript and the Springfield Republican. When Dvorak wrote his "American Symphony," did he or did he not in certain parts copy the music of the American Negro? This is the question. It is not denied that he was influenced by Negro melodies, but how far?

Mr. Philip Hale, of the Boston Transcript, wrote to the sons of Dvorak to ask them to settle the question. The sons replied:

"In America Negro airs, which abound in melodic particularities, interested our father. He studied them and arranged the scale according to which they are formed. But the passages of the symphony and of other works of this American period, which as some pretend have been taken from Negro airs, are absolutely our father's own mental property; they were only influenced by Negro melodies.

"As in his Slav pieces he never used Slav songs, but being a Slav created what his heart dictated, all the works of this American period, the symphony included, respond to Slav origin and anyone who has the least feeling will proclaim this fact. Who will not recognize the homesickness in the largo of this symphony? The secondary phrase of the first movement, the first theme of the scherzo, the beginning of the finale and perhaps also the melody of the largo which give a certain impression of the groaning Negro song, are only influenced by this song and determined by change of land and the influence of a foreign climate."

Another investigation led to the conclusion, in the mind of the Boston critic, that the Negro airs influenced and "only slightly" but two or three passages.

"Yet," adds Mr. Hale, with sarcasm, "some will undoubtedly continue to insist that the symphony 'From the New World' is based for the most part on Negro themes."

Mr. W. J. Henderson, of the Sun, thinks that Mr. Hale has proved the case of his adversaries and that Dvorak was very much influenced by "the idiom of our Negro music, which he thought was the only characteristic musical thing in the United States," and that he said as much plainly to New York critics. It is settled in Mr. Henderson's mind, but he thinks the other side so unreasonable that they will probably "continue to insist that Dr. Dvorak never made any study of Negro themes, that he never asserted that upon them might be reared a distinctly American type of music, that he made no endeavor to do anything of the kind, that he never told any New York critic that he did, and that all New York critics are habitual evaders of the truth."

COLORED PREACHERS.

Some discussion has arisen over the standing of the Negro as a preacher. The Literary Digest quotes several opinions of this subject. The discussion began with an article in the Southwestern Christian Advocate (colored), written by the Rev. Robert E. Jones, who asserted that the race had produced no preacher of real eminence. In other walks there have been colored men of much distinction, but in the pulpit, he claimed, they have not shone, in spite of their religious temperament.

"In spite of the fact that there are approximately 10,000 Negroes who are ministers of the Gospel," he says, "we have no man among us who has made outstanding and unquestioned success as a preacher. In making this statement we are not unmindful of the fact that here and there are preachers who have local reputations and who are somewhat known in the nation, but there is no towering, masterful, persuasive preacher of the Gospel. There is certainly no man among us who is to the nation what Talmage or Moody or Beecher was. Nor is there any man among us who is the undisputed Talmage or Moody or Beecher of the race.

"True enough, we have the spiritual temperament. Our preachers are particularly apt in giving the Gospel narrative and expounding the truth. There are men of piety, and, in some instances, there are men of scholarly attainments, but the preacher has not yet arrived. We are not attempting to assign a reason for this, we are simply stating a fact."

Mr. John Edward Bruce writes to the New York Sun, joining in the discussion and taking the opposite view. He gives a list of distinguished Negro preachers:

"The Rev. John C. Penington, born a slave, was a great preacher and highly esteemed by all who knew him. He was a member of the Hartford Central Association of Congregational Ministers, which consisted of about twenty of the leading ministers of that denomination in Connecticut. He was twice elected its president, in which capacity, as the record will show, he presided over assemblies composed entirely of whites.

"At one of these meetings two young men from Kentucky presented themselves for licenses to preach. The rules required that the president examine the candidates on experimental religion, church history and theology. This Dr. Penington did acceptably, and the white candidates were both licensed and their certificates signed by the black president. In 1841 he published a book, 'The History and Origin of the Colored Race.' Penington was born in Maryland in 1809. He was elected by the State of Connecticut in 1843 as a delegate to the

world's anti-slavery convention and to represent it in the world's peace convention held the same year in London. He addressed the anti-slavery convention at considerable length. Dr. Penington was much in demand as a speaker during his stay in England and preached in many of the prominent churches.

"Henry Highland Garnet, of New York, is another Negro clergyman who may be said to have been pre-eminent as a preacher. He was the first Negro Chaplain of the National House of Representatives by special invitation. President Arthur made him United States Minister to Liberia in 1881. He died there after a residence of about one year, honored and respected by his race on both sides of the Atlantic.

"Dr. Alexander Crummell, late pastor of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, Washington, was graduated from Oxford University in England. He was president of Liberia College for some time, and was a preacher of great force and power. His books, 'The Greatness of Christ' and 'Africa and America' are masterpieces of good English. The Rev. J. B. Reeve, of Philadelphia, is one of the ablest and most scholarly Negro clergymen of the present day. He is a fine Greek and Hebrew scholar and an eloquent and instructive preacher.

"The Rev. John Chavis, of Wake county, N. C., had the remarkable distinction of being not only a great preacher, who preached to white congregations only, up to 1833, throughout Wake county, N. C., but was the first Negro to open a classical school in the South for white youths. He was proficient in Greek, Hebrew and French. The accomplishments of such men as I have mentioned entitle them, I think, to be called pre-eminent."

A LATTER-DAY DRED SCOTT.

The Providence Journal thinks that Pink Franklin's case, with which the readers of THE CRISIS are familiar, may not become as famous as that of Dred Scott, but that he has certainly been an object of solicitude to courts, statesmen and people over a wide area.

"So far as Pink himself is concerned," remarks the Journal, "interest in his celebrated case is probably satisfied by his escape from the gallows. The offence for which his arrest was attempted was a violation of an agricultural contract statute, of a nature which, in an Alabama case, the Supreme Court of the United States has since decided to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court of South Carolina had already declared this statute unconstitutional.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, appealed to for relief, failed to be convinced that the verdict essentially disregarded the unconstitutionality of the statute. The record afforded no sufficient ground for doubting that what the jury considered was whether Pink Franklin was warranted in resisting arrest with deadly vigor. Technicalities aside, the fact remained apparent that the Negro was initially the victim of an illegal procedure. The warrant should never have been issued.

"At the thrilling juncture where Pink Franklin found himself, with the court of last resort heard from, facing the gallows, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appealed to President Taft, who appealed in turn to the Governor of South Carolina, who on the eve of his retirement has now commuted Pink Franklin's sentence to life imprisonment.

"Peonage in the South has been responsible for so much mischief that, irrespective of race or color, there ought to be general satisfaction at Pink Franklin's escape from contributing with his life to the evil record."

WAS HANNIBAL A NEGRO?

General Burt's article on the Negro soldier, reprinted elsewhere in this magazine, aroused some discussion. Dr. G. Harrison wrote to the New York Evening Post saying that he had no criticism to make of the heroism of the colored soldiers, but he would would like to know on what authority Clitus, the Macedonian cavalry commander, and Hannibal and the Carthaginians are classed as Negroes.

"I do not think," adds Dr. Harrison, "that the Abyssinians are considered Negroes. I would like to know what authority the author has for the number of Negro soldiers he states served in the Revolutionary War."

General Burt replied as follows:

"In the New York Herald was published during the St. Louis Exposition extracts from the diary of Baron von Clausen, a German army officer, who came to the country during the Revolutionary War and visited General Washington's camp at White Plains, N. Y. Among other interesting things which this diary contained was the statement that 'of the 20,000 soldiers in this camp one-fourth of them are Negroes, and the best-drilled and disciplined regiment here is one from Rhode Island, three-fourths of which are composed of Negroes.' Again, in G. W. Williams' admirable history of the Negro soldier Dr. Harrison will find much valuable data regarding the military services of the black man in our war for independence.

"Dr. Harrison asks for my authority for stating that Clitus (Alexander the Great's foster brother—Enc. Britannica) was a Negro. The proofs concerning the ethnic origin of Clitus were obtained from Mr. Daniel Murray, who for about thirty years has been an assistant to the Librarian of Congress, and has collected more than 25,000 biographies of people of African origin, which is soon to be published. Among these biographical sketches is that of Clitus, Alexander's great cavalry leader, the Phil Sheridan of his time.

"The doctor, in his letter, says: 'I do not think the Abyssinians are considered Negroes.' That the Abyssinians are of the Negroid peoples there can be no doubt. They have all the outward physical characteristics of those people, and Menelik, the Negus, had documentary evidence showing his undoubted lineal descent from the Queen of Sheba, who was an Ethiopian woman 'black and comely,' as Solomon described her.

"I have not the time to go into any extended discussion relative to the ethnic origin of the Carthaginians. One thing about which there can be no doubt concerning this redoubtable race is that they arose in Africa. The city of Carthage was built on the north coast of the African continent facing the Mediterranean Sea, and the relics of its arts which showed the destruction of the city showed distinctive characteristics which were neither Greek, Egyptian nor Roman. Some historians have declared them to be of Phœnician origin, but the better opinion now is that the Carthaginians and Numidians who moved to the coast, and, touching the 'sea of civilization,' developed with that amazing rapidity characteristic of all Negroid people wherever they have the opportunity to learn and develop."

A rather interesting point, it may be added, which has not been taken up is that there was a Russian Hannibal, a celebrated general and the grandfather of the poet Puskin, who was a full-blooded Negro.

LYNCHING.

The Sioux City Herald has an editorial pointing out how little the laws of the country protect black men. "The record of the year 1910," it says, "is tainted by the stories of mob rule and murder of black people in the South.

"Eight Negroes lynched in Alabama, eight in Arkansas, eight in Florida, ten in Georgia, five in Mississippi, three in Missouri, one in North Carolina, one in Oklahoma, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee and four in Texas. A national scandal, a race crime.

"Besides these 52 black men, five whites were lynched, four of them in the South and one in Ohio. There were 75 lynchings in the United States in 1909 and 65 in 1908.

"There has not been a lynching in Great Britain, with its 40,000,000 of people, in over 80 years.

"The European people look upon us as the most lawless of all the civilized nations of the earth and the record proves it.

"The white men of the North fought for the black men of the South and set them free from the old slavery. But the new hate that has grown up against the blacks and the new system of murdering them, since they are no longer valuable property, who will free them from that?"

A colored paper, the Cincinnati Union, says:

"Two Negroes were lynched this week in Alabama for robbing a barn! Only a small news item appeared in regard to the matter, which shows how very common lynching is, and also that the white press regards lynching on such trivial pretexts as being too much a reflection upon their own race to advertise extensively."

PROPERTY.

The Epworth Herald, organ of the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, relates the story of a colored man in Texas who went into a real estate dealer's office, paid ten thousand dollars for one piece of land, and before he left closed a bargain for another piece costing fifteen thousand.

"There is nothing very remarkable about this, perhaps, from certain standpoints," continues the Epworth Herald, "but when it is stated in this connection that thirty years ago this same Negro went to Kansas without a dollar in hand and began doing odd jobs about town, and that to-day he is worth at least fifty thousand dollars, the story is worth telling. It lays emphasis upon what the Negro can do with himself and for himself under certain circumstances. Honesty, sobriety and a chance will make the Negro a man of whom the nation may well be proud.

"It is for this very thing that the Methodist Episcopal Church has contended right along. Let the Negro have education through a good system of schools, let him be guided in the principles of the higher life by the Church, and then give him a chance. And the nation will rejoice in the results."

READING.

Mr. J. E. Boyd, colored State Superintendent of the Baptist Young People's Union Missions in Texas, makes a plea in the Houston Post for good literature for the colored population. At present he says that the colored young people have little or nothing to read except cheap and trashy books that must do them harm. He outlines a scheme for supplying the colored people with good books:

"Missionary wagons should be placed in the various parts or districts of Texas and they should be supplied with good Christian and wholesome reading matter and placed in the hands of a good, competent and intelligent missionary, and each should traverse his respective district year in and year out, distributing same among our Negro homes, which are the foundations of our lives.

"This is what our State Baptist Young People's Union convention of Texas is endeavoring to do, and right now we are making the struggle of our lives to put a Baptist Young People's Union missionary wagon in each of the eighteen districts in

Texas, which are the most densely populated of the entire twenty-two associational districts. Each wagon is to be in the hands of a competent missionary, well supplied with good Christian and wholesome reading matter that all our Negro homes be elevated instead of allowing them, many of them, to continue as they are."

SOUTH AFRICA.

That South Africa is facing a serious problem in the question of how best to treat with its Asiatic and Negro population was asserted by Rudolphe Lemieux, Postmaster-General of Canada, who has arrived in the United States from England. Lemieux has returned from the inauguration ceremonies of the United Commonwealth of South Africa, which he attended as the Canadian representative.

"In Natal alone there are 125,000 Asiatics and only 100,000 whites," he said, "and it will be necessary soon to decide what political and business attitude is to be mantained toward the imported laborers. Other States must come out flatly and announce whether they will follow the example of Cape Colony and give the Asiatic and the Negro political status."

PINK FRANKLIN'S REPRIEVE

Last summer it was brought to the attention of the Association that a petition for pardon, properly presented to the Governor of South Carolina, might be successful in saving the life of Pink Franklin. Thomas E. Miller, President of the State Colored College at Orangeburg, offered his services in connection with circulating the petition and seeing that it was properly presented to Governor Ansel. After the Supreme Court of the United States had declined to try the case, and Franklin was remanded to the penitentiary for resentence to death, his colored attorneys, Adams and Moorer, who had had charge of the case from the beginning, made an appeal for a new trial, on the ground of newly discovered evidence. The Association caused their brief to be submitted to two prominent New York lawyers—one of them an ex-Assistant District Attorney—and since, in the judgment of these lawyers the brief did not show sufficient grounds for the granting of a new trial, the Association decided to bend its energies to having the case discontinued in the courts, and to the presentation of an appeal for mercy to the Governor.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee, had the case brought to the attention of President Taft, who, by the courtesy of ex-United States Attorney-General Charles J. Bonaparte was placed in possession of Mr. Bonaparte's brief prepared for the Supreme Court of the United States. The President felt strongly that Franklin should not hang, and personally wrote to Governor Ansel, bespeaking his good offices when the petition should be presented to him. Mr. Robert C. Ogden, whose interest the Association also secured, wrote to the President of the University of South Carolina, who in turn wrote to Governor Ansel in Franklin's behalf.

It was found, owing to the political agitation which had resulted in connection with the case—the original warrant of arrest having been issued under the so-called "agricultural contract" law which encourages peonage—that our success with the Governor would be doubtful if Franklin's original lawyers were retained to present the appeal for pardon. They were therefore prevailed upon to relinquish the case to this Association, and Claude E. Sawyer of Aiken, was employed. Benjamin F. Hagood, of the law firm of Mordecai, Gadsden & Hagood, of Charleston—the largest law firm in the State of South Carolina—also volunteered his services in pleading Franklin's cause before the Governor. The State, of Columbia, S. C., has steadfastly supported Franklin, and published a number of editorials in his favor, as did also the News and Courier, of Charleston. Mr. Wannamaker, the editor of the latter paper, was one of the jurors at Franklin's first trial.

As soon as the relatives of Valentine, the murdered man, learned that the Association was moving for Franklin's pardon, they circulated a petition to the Governor not to interfere with the execution; but a reprieve was first granted until January 31st, and on January 6th the Governor finally commuted the sentence of death to life imprisonment. The Association will not cease its efforts, however, to secure Franklin's release from prison.

The Association has received the following letter among others:

"I have just received your letter of the 6th inst. and am very much gratified to learn that Pink Franklin's sentence has been commuted. I agree with you in thinking that the penalty of life imprisonment is entirely too severe for his offence, and that it would have accorded with justice for him to be freely pardoned; nevertheless, since his life is saved, there is an opportunity to secure later a further measure of clemency for him. I think your Association has every reason to be gratified at the result of its efforts in this case; and I remain, as ever,

"Yours most truly,

(Signed) "CHARLES J. BONAPARTE."

EDITORIAL

EDUCATION.

THE amount of positive ignorance on the situation of the colored people in America is simply appalling. Take, for instance, the matter of the education of children. The Lawrence (Mass.) American says with great complacence:

"The education of the Negro in the South is now on a sound and safe basis. Its scope is broad and sensible, training him both mentally and industrially, not forgetting his moral elevation as well. It is a task being well done, and the results should be effective in wearing down the edge of the racial prejudice below the Mason and Dixon line."

A leading colored paper, the Indianapolis Freeman, also asserts that there is no effort "to deny Negroes education in America. It will be admitted that there are now and then inconveniences, perhaps owing to prejudice in localities, but not to such an extent as to deprive the Negro child of some education, if so desired."

These writers believe what they say. They believe it because they want to believe it, however, and not because they have made any effort to get at the facts. Yet the facts are perfectly plain. The last published report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1909, gives these figures:

Colored children, 5-18 years of age	3,964,398
Number of these daily attending schools	1,035,747
Percentage	33.7%
Average length of school term for colored and white children in the South, per year	24 weeks

This means that only one-third the Negro children 5-18 years of age are attending school and it is fair to assume that less than half of those 5-14 years of age are in school. Moreover, the Negro schools being shorter than the white schools do not average as much as five months a year.

These are the official figures compiled for public consumption by white Southern officials. The State supervisor of rural schools of South Carolina says openly in his last report: "It has been my observation that the Negro schools of South Carolina are for the most part without supervision of any kind. Frequently the county superintendent does not know where they are located, and sometimes the district board cannot tell where the school is taught!"

If once we go behind the official admissions the picture is even worse. As we pointed out in the January CRISIS, in one Alabama county out of 10,758 Negro children only 1,000 were in school. As to Louisiana, this is the way V. P. Thomas dissects the school report:

"The school term for white schools is over eight months long; the school term for colored schools is less than five months long. There are high schools for white children in every parish, and no high schools for colored children in any parish at the present time, except Southern University in New Orleans. The high schools all run nine months. The average monthly salary of the white female teacher is $50.80; that of the colored female teacher $28.67.

"The white and colored populations are very nearly equal, yet the white teachers' salaries amount to $2,404,062.54; the colored teachers' salaries amount to $202,251.13. The value of all schoolhouses, sites and furniture for whites is $6,503,019.57; the value of all schoolhouses, sites and furniture for colored is $273,147.50. The toal value of school property for colored use is $266,281.40. Number of wagonettes for whites only in use,

210; average cost per month of operating wagonettes, $7,272.37. In the sparsely settled country school districts the State furnishes wagonettes for the transportation of white children to and from school. The value of the wagonettes is $21,624.95, and the cost of operating them is $54,000.51.

"Average number of white children transported per month per wagonette, 7.2; average cost per month per child transported, $2.19. Number of white children transported in wagonettes 4,088 for more than eight months at $2.19 per month per child. Under this way of encouraging white children to attend, the enrollment of white children in the public schools is 184,955. Without any such encouragement and under adverse circumstances and with the certainty that there will be less than a five months' term for colored schools, the enrollment of colored children in the public schools is 78,862. Twice as many could enroll, but. if they did they would have to sit upon one another for want of accommodation."

In the teeth of such facts ignorant editors like those above laud the Negro public schools, but leaders of education like President Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois say flatly and fearlessly: "In no other nation claiming to be civilized is there at the present time so large a population in such educational degradation as the American Negro!"

PINK FRANKLIN.

THE commutation of the death sentence of Pink Franklin, of South Carolina, to imprisonment for life is the latest step in an astounding American tragedy, but not, please God! the last.

Here is a colored boy, the son of a Southern white man, a boy with a fair common school education, good-tempered, pleasant to look upon and a regular worker. He is arrested under a law the essential principle of which has since been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Courts of both South Carolina and the United States.

His plea of self-defense in killing an armed and unannounced midnight intruder into the very bedroom of himself and his wife, after he himself had been shot, would have absolutely freed any white man on earth from the slightest guilt or punishment. Yet it could not free a colored man in South Carolina. It brought a sentence of murder in the first degree.

Governor Ansell in commuting his sentence to imprisonment for life did a brave thing. Why was it brave? Because it was just? No, it was unjust. To punish this innocent man with a terrible sentence—one almost worse than death, were it not for the hope ahead—is a terribly unjust deed. Yet Governor Ansell's act was brave because of public opinion in South Carolina; because the dominant public opinion of that State demanded this boy's blood; because Governor Ansell took his political future in his hands when he defied this opinion. Honor, then, to Governor Ansell and to strong papers like the Columbia State; but what shall we say of the civilization of a community which makes moral heroism of the scantiest justice?

VICTORY.

THE colored people are getting so used to defeat that they hardly recognize victory when it comes or know how to herald it. They are developing a stolid, sombre, dogged silence and persistence which knows neither elation nor despair. Some day when great triumph comes they will burst forth in long pent-up gladness with a richness of emotion that will astonish men.

That day is not yet come, but there do come in these days of little things—of grudging gifts from the devil of hate and prejudice—indications of larger victory, the significance of which we must not miss. Such were the four great court victories of last month:

1. The Supreme Court of Washington has told real estate speculators

1900

"The colored man that saves his money and buys a brick house will be universally respected by his white neighbors."

1910

"New and dangerous species of Negro criminal lately discovered in Baltimore. He will be segregated in order to avoid lynching."

that they cannot break contract for sale of property because a man is black.

2. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that a law which compels one man to work out an alleged debt to another on pain of committing a felony establishes peonage and is unconstitutional.

3. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals has decided that a reservation in a deed precluding the sale of the property to colored persons at any future time is null and void.

4. The decision of a New York court that the damages awarded a wrongfully accused Pullman porter were too high because he was a Negro and without feelings has been reversed by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York.

In every one of these victories here recorded lies a sense of shame—to think that in the greatest republic of the twentieth century it should be necessary for a court to say that the color of a man's skin was not excuse for breaking solemn obligations; that slavery is illegal; that a decent human being is not a public nuisance and that there is still some difference between a thief and a Pullman porter.

Yet, facing the shame, let us thank God. At last the courts of the United States have touched bottom in the race problem and are turning toward justice. After the Dred Scott decision, the emasculation of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Waterloo at Berea there were those of us who had come to definite decisions as to the United States Supreme bench. Here at last are glimmerings of a new dawn. Let the light grow and let us rejoice.

SEPARATION.

IT IS a cruel mental strain to which honest colored men are being put to-day, particularly in the South. They want to come to terms with their neighbors. They are being urged to do this—urged by black leaders and white and by strong public opinion. The South sometimes is represented as aggressively friendly. They are seeking piteously, therefore, to agree with the dominant race and yet preserve something of their self-respect. It is very difficult. Take, for instance, the letter of an honest colored man in the New Orleans Times-Democrat. He says:

"Whatever may be the opinion of others concerning the drawing of the color line in the South, the thoughtful Negro has accepted it as a fixed principle, realizing that the race has absolutely nothing to fear or lose by social separation. Social intermingling has always meant social degradation to the less advanced element. It may set the minds of many people at rest to know that the Negro is willing and ready to meet the the most advanced thought of the South on its own ground."

He then swallows segregation whole; he would accept separate stores, separate physicians and lawyers, separate schools, separate school superintendents, separate street cars—all and complete, because, as he concludes: "The Negro does not desire racial intermingling. All he wants is a square deal before the law."

Precisely. But the thing that this black man would better ask himself good and hard is this: Is such separation physically and politically possible, and under it is there the slightest likelihood of the segregated getting "a square deal"? No. Such counsellors of surrender stand willing to sacrifice the foundations of democracy for peace. Why does the world ask equality? Out of personal bravado and impudence? No, but for self-protection. If you can separate people by color, you can separate them by birth, by wealth, by ability and any accident. This once done and democracy is dead before Privilege.

Or turn to the other side: the white South does not want Separation, but Subordination. They do not want separate Negro schools, but Negro schools under the control of white superintendence who hold the purse strings. They do not want separate cars, but cars which Negroes may not enter save as servants. They do not want to stop social intermingling, but they do want to prescribe the conditions.

In other words, the separation of the races which would involve political, economic and social independence in the South would be as hateful to them as social intermingling. Every man, then, that bows to the dogma of race separation must accept subordination and humiliation along with the destruction of the best ideals of democracy.

Those who persist in opposition to it need not be scared by bugbears of possible intermarriage. In a true democracy and there alone are sexual relations regulated by giving to all the right to choose their consorts. Only in an oligarchy like Louisiana is race intermingling so endless that they cannot enforce their own race segregation laws.

SOUTHERN PAPERS.

THERE are reasons why certain white Southern papers should be classed with Life when they speak on the race problem. Life is not as funny as it used to be, and these papers are a good deal funnier. This brings the two types into something like competition at times. Take, for instance, the Charleston News and Courier. On most matters it is a sane and able newspaper, but let it approach the Negro problem and directly it begins to strut and darken in a way that would surely excite a smile did it not touch so vast a tragedy. When the late Alabama peonage cases reached the Supreme Court the News and Courier lifted a portentously warning finger. Look out, it shouted in calmly dignified tones, look out! Do not interfere with the divinely established economic harmony of the rural South. The Negro must be made to work. Our methods may lack delicacy and ease, but—and the editor spread his hands—what is peonage between friends? We are sure, he continued, that the Supreme Court will hesitate long before disturbing laws on which Southern prosperity depends.

The Supreme Court calmly overthrew the law. The News and Courier did not wink an eye or turn an eyelash. It simply revolved toward the Negroes and delivered itself of this inimitable bit of reflection: This is a hard blow for you black folk—you'll get no more money advanced to you as farmhands and you'll probably starve. On the other hand, this decision is a blessing for us landlords.

All of which leads us to ask: Is the dominant, implacable portion of the white South, which speaks so loudly and incessantly on this race problem and with such perfect and breathless assurance—is it joking on this vast problem, or is it talking for effect?

And this again, as we said in the beginning, makes us wild for the last copy of Life, Puck or Judge.

RAMPANT DEMOCRACY.

THERE is an artist in New York who rose from the humblest circumstances and now lives in a suburb of the city. In his rise he has evidently learned the essentials of democracy, for his wife in an interview says that they want separate Negro schools in that suburb. They need to have them, but a very foolish law interfered, she laments: "We got along here very well with our separate Negro school. At the same time the Catholic Church maintained a parochial school, to which most of the Italian children went, so that public schools had practically no problem to solve at all as to the commingling of children of different races."

Exquisite! Add to this the demand for separate Asiatic schools in California and we have a splendid start; we have but to demand, then, separate public schools for the rich and cultured. Why should Reginald De Courcey sit in school with Skinny Flynn and Isaac Baumgarten? Perish the thought! Then, too, we must in time distinguish between the Rich and the New Rich, the Real Thing and the Bounder. For instance, why should a Kentucky drummer presume to school his children with the lineal descendant of a patroon—but, noticing a deep red flush on the cheek of the artist's wife, we forbear to push this point. We merely pause to ask: What is democracy anyhow?

January 6, 1811 **Charles Sumner** January 6, 1911

By Justice WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia

I will send him to my dark-browed race,
  On whom the world hath sinned;
And he shall be as a hiding place,
  And a covert from the wind,

As streams of water for the flock,
  Amidst the burning sand,
The shadow of a mighty rock
  Over a weary land.

So spake the Lord God on this day
  A hundred years agone,
While the maids to the fainting mother say,
  See, thou hast borne a son!

And now again in the latter year
  The Lord God speaks to-day:
Gird up your loins like men to hear
  And answer what I say:

Leave me the dead, they are my own:
  Yours are the sick that die,
I cannot hear your priests intone
  For the noise of your poor that cry.

How is it that the weak complain,
  And my children suffer harm?
The sacrifice was naught: in vain
  The Lord made bare His arm.

You have forgotten the camps that reached
  From rising to setting suns;
You have forgotten the truth I preached
  By the lips of a million guns.

The thousands who died in the prison pen,
  And the hundred thousands slain;
Must I write it again, as I wrote it then,
  To make the lesson plain?

See how along the dizzy steep
  Go the weak lambs unled;
See how the thin and hungry sheep
  Look up and are not fed.

See how the rich his web still draws
  Around and round the poor:
He sits and spins his spider laws
  To make his capture sure.

See how the man I gave the light
  Leaves man in dark to dwell,
And makes Religion, angel bright,
  Procuress unto hell.

Think you I have no reins for Wrong,
  No iron curb for a check,
When the hand of him I have made so strong
  Is on his brother's neck?

Think you the word I made my vow
  Sleeps in my prophet's grave,
Or that my arm is shortened now
  So that I cannot save?

Now once again I swear
  He only shall gain who gives;
The soul that hateth by hate shall die,
  By love the spirit lives.

And he who will take the curse
  And carry the griefs of men,
He shall be My Son, my Anointed One,
  The Christ that should come again!

Till man to man by love is bound
  As man from man by law is free,
Your bells swing round with a hateful sound,
  Your censers are a stench to me!

God of our fathers, be with us
  As Thou wert with our sires,
And make our midnight glorious
  With freedom's beaconing fires;
Show us along our cloud-wrapt way
  Some gleam of Thy garment's hem;
And do for us in our darkening day
  As Thou hast done for them!

THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER

By Brigadier-General ANDREW S. BURT, U. S. A. (Retired)

(Extracts from a lecture delivered at Boston on December 12, 1910.)

We have in our regular army four regiments of colored soldiers, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. The two cavalry regiments have fine records in campaigns on our Western frontier, in the old days of Indian warfare. These troopers also have splendid records made in Cuba and the Philippines. To-day there are no finer horsemen who carry sabres and carbines than the Negro soldiers. Indeed, it is whispered abroad that the Tenth Regiment arrived on the field of Santiago in the nick of time to save a much heralded cavalry command from being wiped out or otherwise rough-ridden by the Spanish forces. That kindly help by the Negro troopers has not, to my knowledge, been bruited about with any very loud acclaim. Gratitude is a fickle jade. "Where self the wavering balance shakes 'tis rarely right adjusted," says Bobby Burns.

The Twenty-fourth Infantry has likewise made an enviable record in Indian warfare in Cuba and in the Philippines, not only for its fighting, but as well for its law-abiding conduct wherever it has served in this country and in foreign lands. In addition, this Negro regiment has the privilege of painting on her battle flag, in letters of gold, a record for a deed of magnificent moral courage and great-hearted humanity. In Cuba, after the battle of Santiago, the yellow fever broke out among our white troops. Quarantine hospital camps were established for patients stricken down with the dread disease. Some weeks had elapsed when the colonel commanding the Twenty-fourth Regiment received an order to detail sixty men from his command to replace the regular Hospital Corps nurses who had been attacked by yellow fever, and a number of whom had died of this sickness.

BRAVED YELLOW FEVER.

The colonel, recognizing the peculiar work to be performed by his men who would go to the yellow fever camps, ordered out his regiment in line, and said to them:

"Soldiers of the Twenty-fourth, I want sixty volunteers to help nurse your white comrades who are suffering with yellow fever."

He commanded: "Volunteers, three paces to the front. March."

Every man of that line stepped to the front!

But, wait! Mark well the sequel to such Christian heroism. It was only a short time before word came to the colonel that half of his men who had volunteered to nurse their white comrades had been taken down with yellow fever. A number of them had died of that terrible disease, and thirty more nurses were wanted to take their places. Again the colonel called out his black soldiers in line. He told them what had happened, and again he commanded "Volunteers, three paces to the front. March." And again every man of that line stepped to the front.

I was captain of an infantry company in the Civil War. That ought to make me a good judge of a marching column, and I say I never saw better marchers than my Twenty-fifth United States Infantry Negro soldiers. I dwell on this matter, for on the legs of his men many a general has depended for a victorious campaign.

The Twenty-fifth Regimental headquarters, four companies, and the band were stationed for more than ten years at Fort Missoula, Mont., near the city of that name. One day I asked the Democratic Mayor of that city how my men behaved in his bailiwick. He replied:

"Why, colonel, there isn't any class of citizens here more orderly and peaceful. The Police Court records will prove my assertion."

When the regiment was ordered to the front in '98, the ministers of every denomination in Missoula joined in an open letter commending the men for their good behavior.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH'S RECORD.

The Twenty-fifth Infantry has made a record for fighting at El Caney, in Cuba, at Mt. Aryat, O'Donell, and in numerous skirmishes in the Philippines. Speaking of the Negro soldier generally, I can find nowhere in the histories of the Revolutionary War, the Indian Wars, Spanish-American Wars, or in the Philippines, a single instance where a Negro regiment showed the white feather or refused to charge the enemy when called on to do so.

You will recall Gen. Grant's testimony before the Congressional committee on the conduct of the war of the rebellion. He said in part: "If the black troops had been properly supported by the white troops at the springing of the mines at Petersburg, that day we would have gone into Richmond."

The Negro soldiers were the only ones to charge into and out of that hell-hole. Just keep that in your minds.

Bancroft says of Bunker Hill: "Nor should history forget that as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band,

free Negroes of the colony had their representatives." You all, no doubt, are familiar with the names of Peter Salem and Salem Poor, and their gallant records.

The following account is taken from Arnold's history of the Battle of Rhode Island: "At last the foot columns of the enemy massed and swept down the slopes of Anthony's Hill, with the impetuosity of a whirlwind, but they were received by the American troops with the courage and calmness of veterans. The loss on both sides was fearful. It was in repelling these furious onsets that the newly raised black regiment, under Col. Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor."

Let me call your attention to a trait of the Negro soldier: his devotion and loyalty to his leader. On May 14, 1780, Col. Greene, the gallant leader of this regiment, was surprised and murdered at Point Bridges, New York. He had a very small bodyguard with him at the time, composed of his faithful black soldiers. These men could have fled from an overwhelming force and saved their lives, but surrounding their colonel they defended him gallantly and he was not killed until the last man was cut to pieces.

IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Baron von Clausen, a German army officer, who visited this country during the Revolutionary War, said, among other things, in describing his visit to Gen. Washington's camp, that of the 20,000 soldiers there, 5,000 were Negroes, and that the best-drilled and disciplined regiment was Col. Greene's Rhode Island regiment, three-fourths of which was composed of Negroes.

Time will not permit me to dwell in detail upon the Negro's military service in the War of 1812. Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and Gen. Jackson at New Orleans have testified in signed communications to the War and Navy Departments of their unflinching courage. Jackson's victory at New Orleans, which carried him to fame and the White House, he owed largely to the desperate valor of the black regiments under him. I wonder if you grasp the significance of all that? Why, look at it! Jackson, the great apostle of democracy, was boosted up the ladder of fame by the faithful, patriotic, fighting black man. Does not that seem to be the limit of the irony of fate?

In the Civil War 187,000 Negroes were enlisted. They participated in 213 battles and engagements, and never permitted the Union colors to be dishonored by cowardice or treachery. Their brilliant achievements at Forts Wagner and Olustee, Fort Hudson, and Milliken's Bend, made them welcome into the flower of the Union army—the army of the Potomac in the closing months of those bloody conflicts in front of Richmond and Petersburg. In the battles of Wilson's Wharf, Deep Bottom, Chapeirs Farm, and Hatchers Run, they won for themselves immortal glory!

A TALE OF HEROISM.

Let me relate to you one instance in this war, equal in sublimity to the martial deeds of any age. It is worthy of Homer, for nothing at the siege of Troy surpasses it in valor.

After the black troops had made a third unsuccessful assault to carry the heights of Port Hudson, and had left hundreds of their dead and dying comrades under the very guns of the enemy, Gen. Payne, a Union officer, fell, seriously wounded, about three hundred yards in front of the Union entrenchments. With great exertion he had managed to crawl to a point behind rock and bushes which concealed his body from the view of the Confederate rifles in the pits on the slope of the hill. How to get him back in the Union lines was the problem confronting the Union officers. To leave him there much longer without surgical aid was almost certain death. To send a rescuing party under orders meant almost certain death to every man in it, as the ground over which they would be compelled to pass was swept by a regiment of guns.

In this extremity the matter was put before the Negro troops, and two volunteers were called for to make the attempt to get the general. Instantly two men stepped forward and started on a run for the officer, who lay insensible from fatigue and loss of blood. One of them fell shot to pieces after having gone a few paces. The other fell before he had covered half the distance.

The fate of these two men was met by two others who volunteered without hesitation. Two more, undeterred by the fate of their comrades, which they had witnessed with thousands of others on both sides of the lines, stepped forward and went to death, and this appalling sacrifice of life was kept up until the general's body was finally reached and brought back into the lines, while a thousand guns were thundering and bullets were singing their death song, carrying eighteen of the bravest men who ever lived into the final muster out.

So profoundly impressed was Gen. Lee with the invincible military qualities of the Negro soldiers that in a letter which he wrote to Jefferson Davis, urging the passage of a bill authorizing their enlistment, then under debate in the Confederate Congress, he said:

"If I can get these men, there is no telling where this campaign will end."

NEGRO SOLDIERS OF HISTORY.

As far back as the days of Alexander the Great we find black men exerting high military command. Clitus, a black soldier, led Alexander's cavalry and saved the day on more than one occasion by his forced marches and genius for command. Rome was made to tremble at the dreaded name of the great Carthaginian captain. Menelik's army, led entirely by black men on

the plains of Addis-Abeba, annihilated an Italian army of 30,000 men, taking 1,000 prisoners of war. Cetewayo, the indomitable Zulu chief, measured arms with the ablest English commanders, and although his military resources were antiquated, he was never conquered. In Brazil, a full-blooded Negro, Henry Diaz, wrested his country from the iron grip of the Dutch. Maceo in Cuba, David Thomas Dumas in France, division general under the First Napoleon, and Gen. Alfred Dodds, to-day the idol of the French army, refute the charge that Negroes lack military capacity to lead.

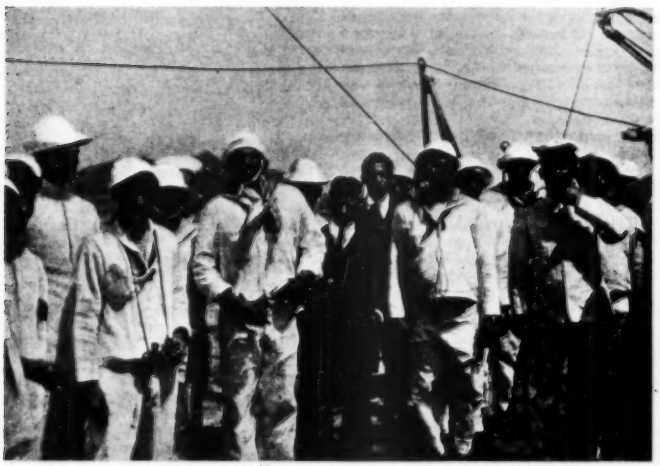
CAPABLE NEGRO OFFICERS.

In our own country much of the desperate fighting at Port Hudson was done by those Negro soldiers, under the leadership of Negro officers in those regiments recruited in Louisiana, which became popularly known as the Corps D'Afrique. In the Cuban campaign, many of the companies of Negro soldiers were led by Negro non-commissioned officers, and there is no doubt that, among the 300 Negro officers of volunteers commissioned during the war with Spain, there were men who would have measured up well in an emergency.

The story of Diaz's organization of a black regiment, officered entirely by men of his own race, his brilliant campaigns against the Dutch, make one of the important chapters in the history of the western hemisphere, for this man emancipated his country from the hard hand of a stubborn, masterful race, and his countrymen have deservedly placed him in the class with Bolivar, Washington, and L'Ouverture, the great liberators and founders of states in the western world.

In conclusion, I take pride in naming to you the greatest soldier, white or black, in ancient or modern wars—the Negro Hannibal. Field Marshal Von Moltke, of the German army, the eminent military critic, says: "Hannibal is the greatest military genius in history." I will not detain you by going into details of how Hannibal landed his little army of 37,000 Carthaginians in the heart of the Roman Empire and battled successfully for seventeen long years with the veteran legions of Rome. I will sum it all up in these words:

"When Hannibal flashed his sword from its scabbard, the boundaries of the broad empire of Rome oscillated on the map. He was the Archangel of War."



X

Courtesy of the Literary Digest.

JAOA CANDIDO (x) THE TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE OF THE BRAZILIAN NAVY.

In the mutiny of the Brazilian navy against the unfair treatment of the government, Joao Candido, a black man, was chosen leader. The mutineers gained the desired concessions, but a number of them, including Candido, have since mysteriously died.

A Black Statesman of the Last Century

By Dr. FRANCES HOGGAN, of London, England

Moshesh, "the Conqueror," is a very striking figure among the black rulers of South Africa. He might be an early Roman gathering in adherents from neighboring tribes. Like many another black man of marked personality, he has been maligned, accused of treachery and crimes he never committed, but more fortunately than some, he is not altogether misrepresented, and he had some friends who have done justice to his force of character and intellect.

He lived in the early half of the nineteenth century, dying in 1869, and was chief of the Basutos. Pressed on all sides, encroached upon by Boer and Briton alike, threatened with extermination by the mighty Zulu host, Moshesh displayed, on a small theatre, it is true, the most remarkable diplomatic aptitude and skill. Like Cavour, many of whose qualities he possessed in no small degree, he pushed forward with the single-minded aim of safeguarding the rights and liberties of his people. Like Cavour also, he knew the value of compromise, and whenever he became convinced that downright justice had no chance of triumphing he turned his shrewd, subtle intellect toward securing the attainable maximum of justice and fair dealing which the circumstances of the period rendered possible. With a clearsightedness one could not have expected in an unlearned black chief, he early realized that the hope of his country lay in cultivating friendly relations with the English, and from this position no ill-treatment, double-dealing or injustice could turn him.*

Just as his clear mental vision enabled Moshesh as a young man to select for his stronghold Thaba Bosigo, a flat shaped and naturally fortified mountain which a few could hold against an army, and from which he was never dislodged either by Zulus, Boers or English, so he saw with prophetic eye the Basuto, shorn of much that rightfully belonged to them, yet prosperous, semi-independent and strong under the protecting care of the Great White Queen. Therefore, at a time when the fortune of war was wavering between him and the English under General Cathcart, and when he had even gained certain advantages against them, just when a savage chief would have exulted in the possibility of massacre or at any rate, of temporary bloodshed, Moshesh, who had learned the hard lesson of self-conquest, chose that moment to send an envoy suing for peace, when indeed it could not well be refused. His letter, simple, direct and manly, has been called "The wisest letter ever written in South Africa."

Thaba Bosigo,
Midnight, 20th December, 1852.

Your Excellency,

This day you have fought against our people and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to obtain cattle for the Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you. You have shown your power. You have chastised. Let it be enough, I pray you; and let me no longer be considered as an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order for the future.

Your humble servant,

MOSHESH.†

General Cathcart, feeling himself somewhat cornered, thereupon made peace. This may serve as a specimen of Moshesh's relations with the English. With the Boers subsequently he was more unbending, and in return for the slight consideration accorded to many of his well-founded claims, he inflicted on them a protracted retaliatory border warfare, in the course of which numerous successful raids on their cattle took place. When, however, the Boers were roused into energetic action, and their tactics and military skill threatened to overwhelm him and his people, diplomacy again came to his aid, and Moshesh obtained from the English, in answer to his urgent entreaty, the favor of having a Protectorate proclaimed over the whole of the Basuto territory in 1868.

With the Zulus and the Matabele Moshesh showed himself both warlike and astute. After repulsing Moselikatze and his horde from Thaba Bosigo, he is said to have sent them a present of oxen for food. They thereupon declared that they would never fight him again, and they never did; but numbers of the Matabele came in afterwards to live under his rule. This may be a legendary story, and so also may be the well-known witty reply to those who accused Moshesh of too great leniency in his dealings with some of his people whom want had driven into cannibalism. "I have always been taught to respect the graves of my ancestors." These stories have a flavor of the man about them, whether historically true or not. Moshesh is one round whom legend quickly gathers, as it does round so many other popular heroes.

A story told me by the wife of one of his missionaries is characteristic of the man in private life. I give the story as I heard it, without any attempt at explana-

*See for particulars of Colonel Warren's oppressive and unfair dealings with Moshesh, "Basutoland Records," and Orpen's "Reminiscences of Life in South Africa, from 1846." (Published 1910.)

†This letter is said to be an exact translation of Moshesh's own words, dictated to his son Nehemia, who could write English, though his father could not.

tion. A young woman, one of Moshesh's many wives, was out one day cultivating her land, when a great light shone round her. She was amazed and frightened, and sought counsel of a Christian friend, asking her what she thought the light could have been. This friend said she did not know, that perhaps God had let his light shine on her to lead her to himself, and that she advised her to go and tell the Chief. At first the young woman hesitated, fearing to disturb the Chief with her small affairs, but eventually she did tell him. "My child," said he, "go on Sundays to the Mission church; listen attentively, and come always and tell me what is said." This she did obediently for about a year. Then one day Moshesh called her to him, and said he was going to send her home to her father (his way of releasing her from her union with him) and that, if her father consented, she might join the Christian church. This, after some time, she did.

For a polygamous chief this treatment of the young wife, as related, is singularly gentle and wise. Other testimony points also to kindly domestic relations. Moshesh was one of Nature's gentlemen, dignified, considerate, courteous, hardy as to personal habits, alert and possessed in an unusual degree, of good judgment, discretion and wisdom. The marvel is that he had such an intuitive knowledge of how to deal with both savage and civilized foes and to make the best of the situation in which he found himself. What Germans call mother wit was one of his distinguishing characteristics, and to this must be added charm of manner and an uncommon faculty for conciliation and gaining his ends by peaceful means. Taken altogether, Moshesh shows us native life and tribal rule at its best, and he is a most picturesque representative of a *régime*, too rapidly perhaps passing away, which was not devoid of suitability to its environment in the hands of a capable man. Moshesh is but one of many great chiefs whom Africa has produced. What distinguishes him from all the rest is mainly the diplomatic turn of mind which in him was so conspicuous a feature as to call for special mention and comment.

Moshesh was the founder of the Basuto nationality, compact, progressive, patriotic, sure to persist and survive changes of administration and system. The Basuto are a monument of his genius. Recruited from many and various tribes, with a strong Zulu element pervading it, the Basuto nation as we know it to-day in the Protectorate of that name, inhabits a beautiful mountainous country about the size of Switzerland, intersected by fruitful valleys, and affording fine grazing grounds to large herds of cattle, and to the strong, hardy Basuto ponies which the country breeds. The paramount chief, Letsie, is a slave to the strong liquor which unprincipled white men have smuggled into the country, contrary to government regulations. He is not devoid of good qualities, but he is weak, as those under the slavery of drink always are. As an illustration of the sturdiness which may be found in Basutoland to-day, I may relate that, on a visit paid a few months ago to Maseru, the administrative capital, I saw the female prisoners, in for murder, infanticide and theft, who are marched daily across the town, from one end to the other and back to the Hospital (where they do the washing and rough work), by the native wardress, Leah, who controls them easily without the help of any weapon. The male prisoners were in the charge of fully armed warders.

The career of Moshesh is instructive as showing what may be the outcome of such training as native chiefs undergo in tribal life, under the guidance of counselors and older men of the tribe—a practical education of considerable value, which it is customary to overlook, but which is in many cases fruitful of results. Education as we understand it Moshesh never had, and his outlook on life was bounded by the necessities of his people, as is the case with Khama at the present day. Moshesh's life, however, is illustrative of the great world-wide fact that, whereas talent and mediocrity require careful cultivation and good educational methods, genius bursts forth irrespective of methods or special training, and dazzles the world by its brightness and force.

As a result of the great work of Moshesh we have to-day Basutoland, an English Crown colony of South Africa, almost entirely self-governing, with nearly 300,000 inhabitants, with annual exports of grain, cattle and wool amounting to $700,000 a year.

N. A. A. C. P. MEETINGS

The third annual conference will be held in Boston in the middle of April. The subject for discussion will be the violation of property and labor rights, with special reference to the Baltimore segregation law. The Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte has been invited to be the chief speaker.

The Association will hold its first Philadelphia meeting on February 22 at the Race Street Meeting House of the Religious Society of Friends. Justice Wendell Phillips Stafford, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, will preside. John E. Milholland, Rev. R. C. Ransom, Oswald Garrison Villard and W. E. B. DuBois will be the speakers.

TALKS ABOUT WOMEN

NUMBER THREE

By Mrs. JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

Much has been written and said about the great movement of women's clubs all over America—East, West, North and South. This has perhaps been mostly talked of here in our home city where one is familiar with hundreds of these splendid working bodies—all doing interesting things—but organized and run mostly for and by women interested in progress for women of their own class and color. Therefore, it is with the greatest satisfaction as well as surprise to find that the colored women also have their own large organizations established all over this country, each doing a work quite on a plane with anything yet attempted by other American women. In Number 14 of the Atlanta University Publications, there is a most thorough and graphic account of these clubs, revealing a spirit of progress and organization most remarkable considering the drawbacks these colored women have encountered and the comparatively short time in which they have had not alone opportunity, but even the privilege of working for the development and culture of their own sex.

In referring to that quite remarkable organization, "The National Association of Colored Women," Mrs. Josephine S. Yates, the Honorary President, writes as follows:

"An inquiry into existing organizations among our women reveals the fact that most of these are auxiliary societies founded and controlled by men, or by the combined efforts of men and women; also, that usually they are secret orders, or connected with various church denominations; and, furthermore, that in their respective fields much work of high order has been accomplished.

"There is, however, one notable exception to the rule stated in the previous paragraph relative to organizations of women, and this is to be found in the 'National Association of Colored Women,' an organization founded and controlled entirely by women."

This Colored Women's Association has held its conventions in the various cities of the South and West with much success. That these meetings were well thought of and their business methods approved is shown by the following editorial from the Daily News, of Chicago, whose editor says:

"Of all the conventions that have met in the country this summer there is none that has taken hold of the business in hand with more good sense and judgment than the National Association of Colored Women, now assembled in this city. The subjects brought up, the manner of their treatment and the decisions reached exhibit wide and appreciative knowledge of conditions confronting the colored people."

The National Association of Colored Women has many departments, comprising all sorts and variety of club work. Its branches are to be found in many of the large cities in the West. Federations of these clubs comprising in some instances as many as forty-five clubs in one State have been formed, all doing active and useful work. The Virginia president reports as follows:

"We have connected with the State Federation of Colored Women of Virginia, clubs whose members are actively engaged in home, school, church, village improvement, rescue work, and social settlements, and they are doing good work. These clubs had been organized and working long before the State Federation was organized, so that explains how we can do so much work in so short a time.

"At our Second Annual Meeting, held in Richmond, June 17 and 18, 1909, forty-seven clubs, representing 1,200 women, were reported."

In referring to the Mississippi organization, the president of the Vicksburg club writes:

"The women of Vicksburg, after several attempts, succeeded in 1905 in effecting a permanent organization. These clubwomen were banded together to do charity work, but for a long time could not decide what work was most necessary. They finally concluded that some provision for caring for the old folks and orphans should be made. This work was immediately undertaken by them. They began at once to solicit funds from the people of this immediate vicinity for the purpose. They had to overcome the difficulties common to all incipient work. Many felt that nothing would ever come of the movement and refrained from taking a part.

"Notwithstanding this, they selected a suitable lot about a mile from Vicksburg, containing a large antebellum residence, and contracted to buy the same for $1,200.

"They have now paid for the place. They have bought also two smaller lots in the same locality, and are now collecting funds to repair the Home, after which they intend to open it for the reception of the aged poor.

"They have no permanent source of support. Their collections have been made solely in this community of Vicksburg, Miss."

And so the report goes on to relate most interestingly the success which has crowned the efforts of these pioneers of the colored women's organizations all over America.

THE BURDEN

If blood be the price of liberty,
If blood be the price of liberty,
If blood be the price of liberty,
Lord God, we have paid in full.

COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885.....	78	1898.....	102
1886.....	71	1899.....	84
1887.....	80	1900.....	107
1888.....	95	1901.....	107
1889.....	95	1902.....	86
1890.....	90	1903.....	86
1891.....	121	1904.....	83
1892.....	155	1905*.....	60
1893.....	154	1906*.....	60
1894.....	134	1907*.....	60
1895.....	112	1908*.....	80
1896.....	80	1909.....	73
1897.....	122	1910.....	65

Total.....2,440

*Estimated.

A great deal is made of the fact that Negroes are peculiarly susceptible to tuberculosis, but little is done to prevent the spread of the disease; instead it is blithely propagated by the villainous jim-crow car. A colored woman, familiar with many cities of the North and of Europe, writes thus of her recent experience in traveling in the South:

"Some of the cars have been filthy. I never permit Mary (her daughter) to sit until I have cleaned the seat; we have used newspapers, wash-rags, even our handkerchiefs, and then have thrown them away, they have been so black.

"Leaving Atlanta for Rome the other evening, the car was stifling with the odor of decayed fruit. Two cuspidors filled with apple cores and banana peel and the news agent's fruit-stand helped things along. The train had been two and a half hours late, the seats were particularly filthy, and I was 'afire.' I asked the conductor if there was no one to throw the garbage out, and he answered that there was no one. He was not impolite, but seemed astonished at my nerve. I had a terrible cough; Mary had one also. I could hardly gasp. I opened the window over one cuspidor and pinned newspapers up to protect Mary and myself from the draught. I was really afraid to breathe the fetid air.

"The white news agent opened his window shortly after this. Two friends of his, one a cripple, came, and the cripple lit a cigarette. I said to him, 'Please do not smoke in here; it is bad enough as it is.' He said nothing, but he did not smoke."

And so the letter continues. The cars are swept only when the passengers are in them, the dust thus flying into eyes and throat; and the letter ends, "I think the tuberculosis society needs to direct its attention to the spread of consumption among Negroes through their enforced use of cars allowed to remain in a vile condition. I know these cars transmit disease. Won't the Association for the Advancement of Colored People make a war-cry on this matter? The health of the whole community is involved in it."

The Reverend H. H. Proctor, of Atlanta, is one of the most prominent colored ministers of the South. Not long ago he arranged to take a trip to the Holy Land with a party of white clergymen. When he applied for his ticket, the Boston booking agent, seeing that he was colored, refused to sell to him. There would be Southern ministers in the party he said. These spiritual leaders could not journey with a colored man through the country of the Christ.

When we begin to harbor race prejudice we cannot tell where it will end or how deeply we shall injure the opportunities of others. A colored girl in a city of a border State, wishing to study art, was admitted to a class of white students on the condition that she would allow a screen to be placed around her seat. Her presence might then at least be ignored.

But more recently in another State, Tennessee, a brilliant music student was denied the right, even when in a class alone, to study at her profession. Having been received by a German musician as a pupil, she was told after returning from a vacation that she might no longer come to his studio. "I regret it deeply," he said, "but the prejudice among my other pupils is such that I endanger my means of livelihood by receiving you."

Could anything have been more pathetically absurd than the sight of the grand opera at Atlanta last winter, to which the most musical part of the population, the Negroes, were denied admittance?

In these days when the world is full of important and interesting happenings, when democracy struggles for new life in Portugal and Mexico, when England faces a revolution, it is a matter for amazement

that the daily newspapers of a city like New York can perpetrate things like this:

CHAS. SUMNER'S CENTENNIAL

—N. Y. Times, Jan. 7, 1911.

COMPELLED TO DANCE WITH NEGRO, SHE SAYS

—N. Y. Times, Jan. 17, 1911.

A young schoolgirl, full of a foolish self-consciousness, finds herself in front of a colored boy and obliged to take a few steps with him in a general dance. She shows herself as a little girl not yet trained to be polite to everyone whether considered by her a superior or an inferior; and, behold, some of our august distributors of news make her a prominent feature and give a column on their first page to her ill-breeding. Could anything show more clearly that, as Bernard Shaw has said, we are still "a nation of villagers?"

The story reminds us of another that was related of a private school in Massachusetts. This school had pupils from all over the country, and sometimes colored children were among them. One time, in the dancing class, a Southern pupil, a boy, found himself in front of a colored girl. He rudely turned away, and being reproved by the teacher, he declared that he would not dance with a "nigger." The matter came to the principal, who talked long and seriously to the lad, and ended by assuring him if he could not treat with courtesy every girl in the dancing school he must discontinue that class. The boy for a time stayed away, but finally decided that he was in the wrong, and returned to the class and to his duty as it had been shown him.

Shortly after this his mother visited the school and, wishing to show how he had conquered himself, the boy at once, in her presence, went up to the colored girl and asked her to dance with him. The effect on his mother was far from what he had expected! She carried her indignant protests to the principal, declaring that she would remove her son from the school if he ever were asked to do such a degrading thing again. The principal's reply was quiet but determined. He insisted that any boy who remained in his school and under his influence must treat with courtesy all those about him, and that if the mother did not wish her son to comply with this rule, he must leave.

Good sense prevailed; the mother acquiesced, and the lad stayed on. He learned to be the gentleman whom Stevenson has described, the man who, whether with inferior or superior, contrives to place himself in the background and to bring out all that is best in another.

M. W. O.

WHAT TO READ

PERIODICALS.

John Brown After Fifty Years. W. D. Howells. The North American Review, January.

The Story of Wendell Phillips. C. E. Russell. Success, November, December, January, February.

Daughters of Herod. Mary Boyle O'Reilly. New England Magazine, December.

A Visit to Tolstoy. Jane Addams. McClure's, January.

How to Establish a Happy Relation Between the Rulers and the Ruled in India. K. C. Kunjilal. The Calcutta Review, October.

Position of Indians in British Indian Administration. By an Uncovenanted. The Calcutta Review, October.

The New Apprenticeship. Geo. A. Stephens. The Journal of Political Economics, January.

The Martyrdom of the Russian Jew. Herman Rosenthal. Outlook, January 21.

BOOKS.

Maude, Aylmer—Life of Tolstoy. Dodd.

Jones, P. V.—Social Justice. Cochrane.

Abbott, Lyman—Spirit of Democracy. Houghton.

Cory, Geo. E.—Rise of South Africa. Longmans.

Dennett, R. E.—Nigerian Studies. Macmillan.

Treves, Sir Frederick—Uganda for a Holiday. Smith, Elder & Co., London.

Bruce, Philip A.—The Institutional History of Virginia in the 17th Century. Putnam's.

Weatherford, W. D.—Negro Life in the South. Y. M. C. A.

In only five Southern cities have colored people any public library facilities. Louisville, Ky., has a flourishing colored branch library, and this is a picture of the Reading Room.

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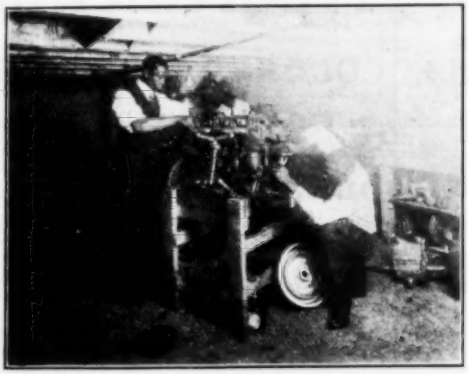

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